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CRIME PREVENTION STRATEGIES, IN PARTICULAR AS RELATED TO CRIMES IN URBAN AREAS AND JUVENILE AND VIOLENT CRIMINALITY, INCLUDING THE QUESTION OF VICTIMS: ASSESSMENT AND NEW PERSPECTIVES

Working paper prepared by the Secretariat

Summary

The Economic and Social Council, in its resolution 1994/19, section V, invited the Ninth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders to examine ways and means of promoting cooperation in crime prevention between criminal justice agencies and, *inter alia*, other agencies, businesses, associations and the public in order to develop effective crime prevention activities at the local, national and international levels. In its resolution 1994/20, the Council welcomed the proposed guidelines for cooperation and technical assistance in the field of urban crime prevention, contained in the annex to that resolution, and decided to transmit the proposed guidelines to the Ninth Congress for consideration under item 6 of its provisional agenda. In the same resolution, the Council requested the Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice to finalize the proposed guidelines at its fourth session, in the light of the comments made by the Ninth Congress, and to consider practical ways of ensuring follow-up on the use and application of the proposed guidelines.

The present document provides an overview of the gravity of the problems related to urban crime and juvenile and violent criminality, as well as the prevention of victimization. It outlines possible strategies for their effective prevention that are aimed at promoting and enhancing international cooperation in that area.

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INTRODUCTION

1. In the statement of principles and programme of action of the United Nations crime prevention and criminal justice programme, approved by the General Assembly in its resolution 46/152, Member States recognized that the world was experiencing important changes resulting in a political climate conducive to, *inter alia*, more widespread enjoyment of basic human rights. They also expressed their deep concern about the extent and growth of crime, with its financial, economic and social consequences. In addition, Member States agreed that they must ensure tha. any increases in the capacity and capabilities of perpetrators of crime are matched by similar increases in the capacity and capabilities of law enforcement and criminal justice authorities. Furthermore, they recognized, in particular, the need to improve and strengthen the means of the crime prevention and control authorities in developing countries.

2. There is a new approach to United Nations activities that recognizes the complementarity of peace and development and the need to deal with problems that, if left unattended, are likely to undermine both. Human security is a priority; in this context, human security refers not to protection from external foes but to satisfaction of basic needs and safeguards against disturbances within civilian life that pose an increasing threat to people in many parts of the world.

3. The Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice is responding to the urgent challenge of preventing urban crime, violent criminality and youth crime. Although crime is hardly a new phenomenon, it has assumed new dimensions and sophistication. The fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations and other major events scheduled for 1995 - the Ninth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, the World Summit for Social Development, to be held at Copenhagen on 11 and 12 March, and the Fourth World Conference on Women: Action for Equality, Development and Peace, to be held at Beijing from 4 to 15 September - will provide excellent opportunities to discuss, *inter alia*, crime prevention strategies, including the prevention of violent criminality, and victim protection.

4. At the five regional preparatory meetings for the Ninth Congress, held between January and March 1994, there was a broad degree of consensus on the seriousness and immediacy of the problems presented by crime. The preparatory meetings made comprehensive recommendations stressing the need for technical assistance and international cooperation in priority areas. The findings of the preparatory meetings, contained in the reports of those meetings (A/CONF.169/RPM.1/Rev.1 and Corr.1, A/CONF.169/RPM.2, A/CONF.169/RPM.3 and Corr.1, A/CONF.169/RPM.4 and A/CONF.169/RPM.5), have been taken into account in the present document.

5. The present working paper provides an overview of developments in research and policies since 1990 in the areas of urban crime prevention; prevention and control of violent crime; juvenile delinquency and youth crime; victims of crime; and promotion of international cooperation in crime prevention. As the vast amount of publications in those areas could not be reflected in the overview, an attempt has been made to present the essence of the issues concerned.

I. PREVENTION OF URBAN CRIME

6. Increased crime, linked with rapid and unplanned urbanization, poses serious difficulties to States, especially those suffering from poverty. The influx of rural migrants, drawn by the lure of cities and in search of largely non-existent work opportunities, together with overall demographic pressures, have created

an urban population explosion.* This migration may, among other factors, add to the growth of urban crime since the newcomers usually lack access to adequate housing and settle in the outskirts of towns, in shanty towns and squatters' settlements. As a consequence of the breakup of those individuals' social relations, traditional ties are loosened and alienation and discontent occur.

7. The rapid growth of cities poses not only great dangers but also opportunities for better crime prevention. The challenge is to make urban growth more viable and to ensure human security, both in its wider sense and more specifically in terms of crime prevention. It needs to be considered a distinct developmental investment rather than a recurrent overhead in national and urban planning and development.** Strategies are needed not only to improve the quality of urban life and reducing crime, but also to enhance the feeling of safety and to restore the confidence of citizens in the ability of government to protect them.

8. Planning for such development requires greater accountability, transparency and public participation in governance and crime control at the local as well as the national level. Measures that promote equity and social justice while reducing deprivation are important. Since differential rates of sectoral growth (e.g. in the economic sector but not in the social sector) may result in uneven and potentially criminogenic development, an integrated approach to development is necessary, one that will consider possible investments in those areas that, compared with others, are not as privileged. A more integrated and cost-effective approach to the criminal justice system and its subsystems is also required.

9. In recognition of the need for comprehensive yet focused action, a number of States have established national crime prevention councils or offices to provide leadership, guidance and support for local initiatives. Some developing countries have included crime prevention in their national plans, and some have created offices to deal specifically with crime prevention, collaborating with other national planning bodies in programme implementation.

A. Planning comprehensive action

10. Planning crime prevention requires the establishment of clear and, where possible, measurable, objectives at the national and local levels. Administrations may consider targeting crime problems causing the greatest concern, and choices must be made among options to maximize benefits at the least human and material cost.

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*According to the latest forecasts, the world's population will have more than quadrupled in the twentieth century, reaching nearly 7 billion by the year 2000 (and a projected 8.5 billion by 2025), a level that many experts regard as unsustainable. Of that total, 6.5 billion are likely to be living in poorer areas, with approximately two thirds concentrated in the urban slums of the developing world (*World Urbanization Prospects: the 1992 Revision; Estimates and Projections of Urban and Rural Populations and of Urban Agglomerations* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.93.XIII.11)).

**The ever more pressing needs of the world's cities prompted by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) to convene, in cooperation with the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat), an international colloquium of mayors in August 1994 as a preparatory activity for both the World Summit for Social Development and the United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II), to be held in Turkey from 3 to 14 June 1996. The colloquium adopted a mayors' declaration on social development and sustainable human settlements, which called for a series of commitments, for the comprehensive development of cities; a strategy to empower the urban poor to help themselves improve their living conditions, including access to infrastructure, shelter, basic education, health, sanitation, security and information in poor neighbourhoods; the implementation of policies to help disadvantaged youth and children, including street children; recognition of ethnic, cultural, racial and religious diversity; and the encouragement of harmonious relations that reduce violence among diverse groups and promote socially integrated cities, ensuring equality under the law, eliminating social exclusion and marginalization, and promoting intercultural understanding and harmony among different groups. The mayors urged partnerships for action and mechanisms for intersectoral coordination and full participation, with a commitment to a common plan of action, and its periodic review and improvement, if necessary (see also the agenda of the meeting of Eurocities held at Antwerp from 18 to 19 September 1994 and its work programme for the period 1994-1995, which gave the issue top priority).

11. For a crime prevention plan to be truly representative and responsive to local urban crime problems and needs, the community should be involved at all stages and in all aspects: it has been noted that the greater the degree of community participation and solidarity in tackling social and crime problems, the higher the level of urban security.* There is a need for close cooperation between government and the community** and for building broad coalitions of all those concerned with crime problems.

1. An empirical base for decision-making

12. A more scientific basis for decision-making can substantially enhance efforts to improve the urban environment and its security. Specific initiatives can have a positive effect if they are part of a coherent strategy guided by a solid information base and ongoing evaluations. Different methods for developing such an information base have been devised. The trend is increasingly towards local area studies and problem identification, but they are likely to be more meaningful if carried out against the background of national crime and victimization studies,*** and of global trends, given the growing internationalization of crime. The United Nations world crime surveys and the international victimization and self-report surveys point to the larger context in which crime problems can be usefully analysed.

13. Although the urban scene is currently being studied at the international and other levels, crime-related information is still rarely included in such analyses.**** However, that situation may be changing. The large city statistics questionnaire of Habitat, developed under the city data programme, includes questions on reported crimes, the number of adults and juveniles convicted in criminal courts, and urban riots.

14. Other United Nations statistical exercises have included some relevant indicators. For example, the 1994 *Human Development Report* includes among the measures of human development a profile of "human distress", based on, *inter alia*, murders, reported rapes, pollution levels and injuries from road accidents. It also contains figures on urbanization and indicators of a "weakening social fabric", which include the number of incarcerations and various crimes.[1]

15. Guidelines for the development of social impact assessments that include urban security have also been suggested.[2] The relevant data should include the prevalence, forms and spatial distribution of various types of crime, as well as different aspects of urban functioning and the policies that govern it. Local victimization studies can complement national surveys, including the extent of feelings of security or insecurity.

2. Planning ahead

16. Crime prevention strategies should take into account not only current patterns and dimensions of crime, but also likely developments and trends in the short term and in the longer term.[2] Consideration should be

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*The Encuentro Latinoamericano de Alcaldes para la Seguridad Ciudadana has urged concerted action to relieve the serious urban crime problems in the region, including the creation of communal crime prevention councils and other interventions based on the principles of democracy, freedom, solidarity, tolerance, equity, participation and public mobilization.

**National crime prevention bodies have increasingly sought an active partnership with local authorities. In some countries (e.g. France, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland), national crime prevention councils are governmental; in others (e.g. Sweden) they are not; and in yet others (e.g. the United States of America), they are both. Such bodies promote crime prevention activities at various levels, often exercising a coordinating role.

***See for example, A. Alvazzi del Frate and K. Goryainov, *Latent Crime in Russia*, UNCJRI Issues and Reports Series No. 1 (Rome, 1993); and I. Gilinski and V. Afanasev, *Sotsiologija Deviantnogo Povedenija* (St. Petersburg, Sankt Petersburgskij filial Instituta Sotsiologii Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk, 1993).

****See for example, *Population Growth and Policies in Mega-Cities* series of the Department for Economic and Social Information and Policy Analysis of the Secretariat (formerly the Department of Economic and Social Development), or the urban management series of the United Nations Development Programme, where it could be included in the future, especially as a follow-up to the Mayors' World Colloquium.

given to preparing an inventory of all factors affecting or affected by crime and fear, for use both in responding to present problems and in forecasting prospective problems. As transnational crime continues to grow, interfacing with local crime problems, global crime trends should also be taken into account. The United Nations surveys of crime trends and criminal justice operations and of demographic projections offer an empirical base that could be used in forecasting.

17. The success of crime prevention planning at all levels will depend on the calibre and close cooperation of all those involved, including technicians and political leaders. The latter's legitimacy as elected representatives of the people makes them lead figures in the process of democratization. The link between security and democracy is a crucial one, for security without democracy is a hallmark of repression, which may lead to far greater insecurity.[3]

B. Strategies to reduce urban crime

18. Crime prevention strategies vary in nature, level, scope, time-frame and cost. Primary prevention - seeking to create socio-economic conditions less conducive to crime - has the longest horizon, and its effects are not easy to assess. Community initiatives vary in time and scale. While situational crime prevention, aimed at reducing opportunities for crime, may be readily instituted, it should be carefully evaluated because its effect is likely to displace rather than prevent crime. Efforts to prevent crime might include target-hardening, access control, and deflecting offenders by increasing the risks and by reducing rewards. Eliminating or restricting facilitators of crime, such as firearms, is a matter for urgent consideration and decisive action.

19. Crime prevention strategies can be designed to tackle a single aspect of crime rather than a spectrum of interrelated problems that should be dealt with in a more holistic matter. Since different offences may require quite distinct measures, efforts in some countries have focused on specific kinds of crime. Such an approach is particularly useful when it is part of a more comprehensive strategy designed to deal with a whole range of crime problems in an integrated way.[4]

1. Environmental approaches to crime and crime prevention

20. The differential incidence and patterns of urban crime have spurred studies[5] to identify the characteristics and impact of factors such as disadvantage. The geographical distribution of criminal offences, encompassing economic, social and ecological indicators of disadvantage, can often be identified. The geography of crime can be useful in planning policing and city restructuring.[6] Proximity and geography play a role in the "routine activities theory", which is concerned with people's movements within cities. Some recent studies have noted that increased mobility permits offenders to operate beyond their place of residence and that, therefore, the dynamics and range of factors at play should be taken into account.*

21. It has been pointed out that some modern architecture (e.g. high-rise public housing with many exits and no public space) have promoted some types of crime. Urban and architectural considerations are increasingly being taken into account in studies[7] and attempts to reduce particular kinds of crime, such as burglary. The concept of "crime prevention through environmental design" is central to situational crime prevention. This approach has been used when reviewing public housing developments, especially where a

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*Studies of "careers in crime" in urban areas in Poland, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States and in other countries have indicated the directories of possible action (see also Anna Kossowska, "Srodowiskowo-Przestrzenne Uwarunkowanie Przestepczosci (Wybrane Zagadnienia Współczesnej Ekologii Przestepczosci)", *Archiwum Kriminologii* (Warsaw), vol. XIX, 1993, pp. 7-16).

flourishing drug trade has developed.[8] It has also been used to enhance the security of businesses and other premises.

22. Relatively simple and inexpensive means of situational crime prevention, such as the provision of better lighting and iron gates, have been used in certain places with striking results.* New ways of creating defensible space, adapted to local circumstances, are being explored to reduce hiding places or other opportunities for offenders.

23. Situational crime prevention through target-hardening, especially in developed countries, is increasingly relying on state-of-the-art technology, creating a booming home security business that is often provided by private security companies. While civil rights advocates are concerned about the increased reliance on such private security services, the escalation of crime makes it understandable.[9]

2 Urban planning and renewal

24. The relationship between the physical deterioration of neighbourhoods, disorder and rising crime has been documented in recent research studies.[10] Physical improvements in dilapidated areas and community action can help stem the decline. Attempts to break the vicious cycle can employ a variety of techniques, including punitive measures for offences such as vandalism, and incentives to private home ownership or rentals (in the form of home equity insurance and subsidies, for example), which increase neighbourhood stability. Housing policy can also be used in other ways to reduce crime by stimulating the market for low-cost housing, thus making it profitable for landlords to maintain, upgrade and even build low-income units. Incentives may also be used to bring merchants into inner cities and other marginalized areas as part of upgrading efforts and a more equitable system for the distribution of goods.[11]

25. A battery of approaches is most likely to yield crime-reduction results. For example, performance zoning regulations, first used to establish environmental quality standards, can also be employed to increase safety.[12] The proper use of public spaces, parks, transportation and other common facilities can help to enhance personal and community security. In cities of developing countries, the large majority of whose inhabitants may be slum-dwellers, housing policies and urban redevelopment schemes should be part of broader urban and overall planning schemes. In countries at all stages of development, urban planners can fulfil a key function by coordinating various sectoral initiatives within a coherent framework in which crime prevention and quality of life considerations play a central role.[12]

26. Strategic urban planning should involve all sectors and disciplines and should reflect a sensitivity to psychosocial dynamics. Public support for self-help efforts by squatters and other marginalized groups can only be effective if it is provided as part of a wider strategy aimed at motivating such groups while providing tangible improvements to basic amenities and services. Such an approach is applicable both to developing countries, where the inhabitants may view the land as common property,[13] and to disadvantaged areas of developed countries. In some of the latter, neighbourhood-based non-profit corporations have rehabilitated housing, built new premises and brought in commerce and jobs. The creation of "empowerment zones" in some cities has fostered a positive vision that is self-fulfilling.[14] The development of community networks and support systems can greatly increase the viability of this undertaking, creating an upward rather than a downward spiral.

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*For example, since 35 iron gates and 26 alley barricades were installed in late 1992, violent crime in the Five Oaks district of Dayton, Ohio, United States, has fallen by 50 per cent and non-violent crime has fallen by 24 per cent. "Crime prevention through environmental design" was pioneered by Oscar Newman, who is to help restructure the physical design and improve security in 10 American cities, with federal funding (Mitchell Owens, "Saving neighborhoods, one gate at a time", *New York Times*, 25 August 1994, p. C1 and C6).

3. Community partnerships and neighbourhood justice

27. Successful urban development programmes often involve partnerships in both sponsorship and execution. Community partnerships have been found effective in different countries and jurisdictions. The building of coalitions to confront similar crime problems can significantly increase the impact of individual initiatives. The modern concepts and practices of law enforcement, community policing and problem-oriented policing are based on the idea of a partnership between the police and the local community. By bringing the police closer to the people, the problems and insights of the latter can be better appreciated and their cooperation enlisted.[15] The tasks of the police are also being rethought,[16] there is a need for them to play a more proactive role and for alternatives to formal criminal justice to be found.

28. Partnerships between law enforcement officers and citizens* have shown great promise. The key elements of success in such neighbourhood-based efforts include support from top officials; shared vision and leadership; an ability to deliver immediate tangible benefits; a commitment to empowering residents; qualified, committed staff; and simple organizational and budgetary arrangements.**

29. Where community traditions are strong, efforts are being made to capitalize on them in the service of crime prevention. Community awareness of the processes and problems in the administration of justice has also been heightened.[17] At the same time, law enforcement and criminal justice operations are becoming more responsive to the daily needs of the people. Community courts dealing with minor offences and the resolution of disputes are a fixture in some countries where the notion of customary justice persists. The wide use of volunteers in probation also reflects the community's involvement in the rehabilitative process.

30. As regards mobilizing public support, community partnerships have been found effective in different countries and jurisdictions.***

4. Broader socio-economic policies

31. Policies to reduce inequalities and achieve greater social justice are of critical importance to crime prevention.**** The problems of poverty, unemployment and social desintegration, which bear on crime and crime prevention, are interlinked, as are the elements of human security, which includes both personal and community security, and freedom from fear.

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*For example, in the United States, the Neighborhood Resource Team in Dade County, Florida; the Neighborhood Network Center at Lansing, Michigan, and Police Assisted Community Enforcement at Norfolk, Virginia.

**See, for example, Roberta C. Cronin, *Innovative Community Partnerships: Working Together for Change* (Washington, D.C., United States of America, Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, May 1994). A systemic approach has also been successfully used to involve the police in crime and drug abuse prevention (see G. Jackson, ed., "The systems approach to community crime prevention, Knoxville, TN", *Exemplary Programs in Criminal Justice: Innovations at the Local Level* (Washington, D.C., National League of Cities, 1994), p. 51).

***See for example, for Europe, "The development of urban policy in Europe", *Quartiers en Crise News*, No. 3, 1993; for France, Catherine Vourc'h and Michel Marcus, *Sécurité et Démocratie* (Paris, Forum Européen pour la sécurité urbane, 1993); for the United Kingdom, Crime and Concern, *Crime Prevention Partnerships: a Review of Progress* (London, Home Office, July 1994) and Crime and Concern, *A Practical Guide to Crime Prevention for Local Partnerships* (London, September 1993); and for the United States, National Crime Prevention Council, *Building Community Spirit throughout the Nation: Annual Report* (Washington, D.C., 1993), *Helping Communities Mobilize against Crime, Drugs and Other Problems* (Washington, D.C., 1992), National Crime Prevention Council, *Taking the Offensive to Prevent Crime: How Seven Cities Did It* (Washington, D.C., 1994) and *United States of America, 103rd Congress, 2nd session, House of Representatives, Report 103-711*, conference report to accompany H.R. 3355 (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 21 August 1994).

****A proposal for a global safety net has been made in terms of essential consumption (perhaps a minimum of 1 United States dollar a day), or in terms of certain public goods, with adequate funding for poorer recipient countries, perhaps through an income tax of around 0.01 per cent on wealthier countries (United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report 1994* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 79).

32. Poverty-reduction strategies should include the creation of opportunities for productive employment and income-generating activities. It may also be advisable to ensure access to social services, especially for recent migrants requiring jobs and support. Policies for security management are especially important in complex metropolitan environments. Appropriate education, training and public information can have a direct impact on crime reduction and can promote social cohesion, tolerance and respect for human rights.

5. Education, training and the mass media

33. Formal and informal education can promote good citizenship.* In addition, there is scope for crime prevention and criminal justice education, as called for by the General Assembly in its resolution 45/122. Prison education, including social education and employment preparation, also constitutes an important means of secondary prevention in that it enhances prisoners' prospects for social reintegration.**

34. Suitable training and sensitization of crime prevention and criminal justice personnel are probably a key to programme success. The training of trainers in areas such as mediation, social reintegration and community treatment is crucial. Non-institutional sanctions such as community service, creative restitution and work-release can reinforce offenders' local links and their reintegration into society, thereby helping to prevent recidivism.[18]

35. Although the media may accentuate the fear of crime through sensationalist coverage and may contribute to a climate of fear, it has great potential for publicizing successes, helping to instil confidence in crime control methods, promoting promising innovations, and encouraging public cooperation. More responsive and responsible reporting should be encouraged.

6. Multicultural cities: a growing challenge

36. One of the consequences of increased migration has been the trend towards multi-ethnic and multicultural cities. Many of the world's great metropolises that have experienced a large influx of newcomers have become increasingly heterogeneous. Backlash by the existing community against foreigners, manifested in xenophobic hate crimes,[19] has created serious preoccupations about infringements of basic human rights. The special measures taken against such crimes should help to prevent them, but legal steps alone will not dispel false stereotypes and prejudice. There is also a need to change attitudes - a task in which law enforcement and other professionals can play a major role.[20]

37. Countering such crimes effectively requires action at various levels, including appropriate legislation, law enforcement, prosecution and sanctions. But a broader strategy is also needed to foster a more empathetic civil society that not only tolerates diversity but considers it enriching. Educational and media campaigns for increased tolerance can play a crucial role, as can community efforts to foster intercultural communication.[21]

38. Immigrants and especially youth whose parents are immigrants, often feel suspended between two worlds and might be more vocal than adults in their rebellion against perceived injustices and in their demands for equal opportunities. The frequent concentration of immigrant families in marginal urban zones, where

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*A people's law school has been established at Vancouver, Canada, and a "citizenship school" has been established at Lille, France.

**The Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Branch, in cooperation with the UNESCO Institute for Education at Hamburg, Germany, has prepared a *Manual on Basic Education in Prisons*, which provides a worldwide overview of prison education programmes (ST/CSDHA/25, forthcoming).

poverty is more acute and services less available, compounds this problem. For harmonious coexistence, sensitizing established residents to the customs and expectations of the newcomers may be as important as sensitizing the newcomers to the customs and expectations of the established residents. Attempts at greater equity should help to ameliorate the situation and to defuse potential violence, especially if there are channels for the expression of grievances. The involvement of all urban residents in the active exercise of citizenship is most important.

C. Future action

39. The proposed guidelines for cooperation and technical assistance in the field of urban crime prevention, contained in the annex to Economic and Social Council resolution 1994/20, are to be finalized by the Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice at its fourth session in the light of the comments to be made by the Ninth Congress, for subsequent publication in the most appropriate form. The proposed guidelines contain recommendations on the design and implementation of technical cooperation and assistance activities, using a local approach to crime problems and an integrated crime prevention action plan that involves both primary and secondary prevention. The emphasis on training and information for all professionals involved in crime prevention is in line with the priority assigned to this matter by the Commission, which was requested by the Council, in its resolution 1994/20, to consider practical ways of ensuring follow-up on the use and application of the proposed guidelines. In addition, in the proposed guidelines, competent authorities at all levels are recommended to compare experiences and to organize exchanges of know-how and to provide a means of evaluating on a regular basis the effectiveness of the strategies implemented and their possible revision.

40. The recommendations contained in the proposed guidelines are addressed to authorities at all levels. By calling on UNDP and other relevant United Nations entities and international financial institutions to include urban crime prevention projects in their technical assistance programmes, the Economic and Social Council has set the stage for significant initiatives in this field. The situation in most cities in the world and their gloomy prospects make action of this kind imperative. If such action is not taken now, there is every likelihood that urban decline and instability will deteriorate further as violence and crime escalate.

41. At the international level, the urban management programme of UNDP, with support from the World Bank, might include crime prevention for greater urban safety in its repertory of projects. That would be consistent with the emphasis placed by UNDP on personal and community security being indispensable conditions for sustainable growth and human development. An array of technical assistance activities might be envisaged, including interregional seminars and courses for high-level and middle-level participants, bringing together urban planners and crime prevention specialists. Research to guide further action might also be undertaken on such topics as security in the megacities. Similar initiatives could be taken at the regional level, in cooperation with the regional institutes for the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders, affiliated with the United Nations. A one-day workshop on urban policy and crime prevention, to be held within the framework of the Ninth Congress, will provide a unique forum to enhance cooperation in urban crime prevention at various levels.

II. PREVENTION AND CONTROL OF VIOLENCE

42. As the world nears the twenty-first century, violence is a fearful fact of life. It takes many forms and has many different reasons, but its effects are devastating. Urban violence, most frequently involving the use of firearms or other lethal weapons, has made many cities dangerous places to live in or visit; and the threat that it poses compounds the pervasive feelings of insecurity. Collective violence, often linked to ethnic, racial and religious strife, has taken a tremendous toll: millions of victims of tribal conflict; ethnic cleansing; rape;

terrorism; hate crime; street crime; and attacks on refugees, migrants, minorities or other vulnerable population groups.

43. The United Nations, through its increased involvement in peace-keeping and peace-building operations, is able to serve as an impartial arbiter, to help to curtail violence and to provide some protection and assistance to the victims. The relatively modest results of those operations could be attributed to the enormous gap between the worldwide needs and the capacity to respond, not to mention to prevent. The complexities and many interfaces of the various phenomena make adequate action still more difficult, though it properly falls under the goal of preventive diplomacy, which has become even more relevant in the light of the new, wider concept of "security".

44. The apparent escalation of violence, public insecurity and official concern has led to the establishment of special commissions in several countries to deal with violence and to help to develop more effective strategies of prevention and control.*

45. Many United Nations entities have been concerned with violence. A number of those United Nations entities, such as the Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Branch of the Secretariat, the Division for the Advancement of Women of the Secretariat, the secretariat of the International Year of the Family, are working to curtail violence against women in the home and in society. *Strategies for Confronting Domestic Violence: A Resource Manual*[22] was published by the United Nations in 1993. The Canadian Department of Justice supervised the production of the *Manual* with the assistance of the European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control, affiliated with the United Nations,** and in cooperation with the Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Branch. A draft of the *Manual* was reviewed by a panel of experts at the Seventh International Symposium on Victimology, held at Rio de Janeiro in August 1991, and at the Expert Group Meeting on Domestic Violence, held at Vancouver, Canada, from 22 to 25 March 1992. The *Manual* focuses on the violence committed by husbands and male partners against their wives and female partners. It identifies many different strategies that Governments, police, social service agencies, health workers, community organizations and women's groups around the world are using to confront the violence that women suffer at home. The *Manual* is currently available in English only. The Canadian Government, however, has generously provided a French translation of the *Manual*, which will soon be made available.

46. The United Nations International Drug Control Programme is concerned with violence associated with drug trafficking. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees seeks to curtail and prevent violence against refugees and internally displaced persons. The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) is concerned with children in difficult circumstances, including children in situations of armed conflict and street children, who are often the victims of violence and exploitation. The United Nations Institute for Training and Research, which some years ago considered the question of civil disorders, is currently conducting training courses on conflict resolution. The special rapporteurs of the Commission on Human Rights deal primarily with forms of state violence (e.g. extralegal executions, torture and

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*Statements and recommendations on the subject have been issued by the National Committee on Violence in Australia (see Australia, National Committee on Violence, *Violence: Directions for Australia* (Canberra, 1990)), the German Commission on Violence, and the National Panel on Understanding and Preventing Violence in the United States (see Panel on the Understanding and Control of Violent Behaviour, National Research Council, Committee on Law and Justice and Commission on Behavioural and Social Science and Education, *Understanding and Preventing Violence*, Albert J. Reiss and Jeffrey Roth, eds. (Washington, D.C., National Academy Press, 1993), vol. 1: Summary of findings; vol. 2: Behavioral influences; vol. 3: Social influences; vol. 4: Consequences and control). Special task forces on the subject have been set up by professional organizations such as the American Bar Association (see, for example, Barry Weisberg, Reporter, Special Committee on Violent Crime, Criminal Justice Section, "Primer: reducing and preventing violent crime (discussion draft)" (Washington, D.C., American Bar Association, 8 July 1994)) and the American Psychological Association (American Psychological Association, *Violence and Youth* (Washington, D.C., 1993)).

**Formerly called the Helsinki Institute for Crime Prevention and Control, affiliated with the United Nations (HEUNI).

disappearances), allegations of violence and other abuses in individual countries, as well as other kinds of violence. A special issue of the *International Review of Criminal Policy*[23] was devoted to violence. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), which formulated the Seville statement on violence, disclaiming its biological origin, has been concerned with violence and aggression for over two decades.

A. Gauging the extent of violence

47. The measurement of violence depends on the definition used, its seriousness, its consequences and factors such as the cultural context, official response and statistical capability of the jurisdiction. In some countries, there may be several sources of relevant information.* Murders are likely to be counted accurately except where mass violence occurs. Counts of non-fatal violent crimes are usually incomplete and some violent acts may not be recorded, such as those committed by friends and intimates. The act may not be recognized as a serious crime, the victim may be reluctant to report it, and the definition may change over time or vary depending on the community and discretion. One example of changed attitudes towards crime involves incidents of domestic violence, which are being more widely reported and acted upon in some countries. If that trend were to take root in more countries throughout the world, public attitudes would change and there would be increased concern about spouse abuse.

B. Causes and consequences of violence

48. The causes of violent crime are numerous and interwoven. While the reasons for the commission of non-violent offences by individuals might be attributed to such motives as poverty, lack of hope or opportunity, alcohol or drug abuse, and chaotic or unsatisfactory lifestyles, violent offences by individuals or groups are likely to be the result of certain emotions experienced in specific circumstances. Unravelling those chronic and acute factors** is a complex task.***

49. Information on the perpetrators and victims of violent crime in most countries indicates that such persons share similar demographic profiles; they are usually young male inhabitants of marginal urban districts, although females are currently the largest growing group of offenders. Minorities seem to be disproportionately represented in the arrest figures of some countries, largely because they are disproportionately represented in the most disadvantaged sectors of society. The perpetrator of violence is often known to the victim, though "stranger-to-stranger" violence is increasingly occurring.

50. The consequences of violent crime for the victims, their families and societies can be devastating. The material price alone is extremely high, but the non-material effects of the trauma on victims and their families are even greater. The prevalence of violence and media coverage and depiction of violent fictional or true events are harmful not only because of their content, but also because they may come to be viewed as the norm and can thus undermine the foundations of social coexistence.

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*In the United States (and in other developed countries), for instance, three measurement systems are the primary sources of information in counting crimes and their victims: the national crime survey, the uniform crime reports on crimes detected by or reported to the police, and national health statistics. The national crime survey also serves as the basis for figures on victimization overall and in certain categories.

**For example, environmental hazards can be a causal factor: it has been discovered, for instance, that children in disadvantaged neighbourhoods are exposed to higher amounts of lead in their homes than are other children, a fact that has been linked to a higher incidence of physical and neurological impairment and "the increased likelihood of antisocial behaviour later in life". (United Nations Children's Fund, *The State of the World's Children 1994* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1994)).

***Attempts to systematize these factors have produced classification schemes of predisposing and precipitating risk factors, according to their proximity to the violent event (see Albert J. Reiss and Jeffrey Roth, eds., *Understanding and Preventing Violence* (Washington, D.C., National Academy Press, 1993), vol. 1, p. 20).

C. Specific forms of violence

1. Civil disorders and ethnic violence

51. In recent years, there has been an upsurge in ethnic, religious and racial conflicts. And there have been tragic examples of the extremes that ethnic strife can take. Long dormant or submerged by authoritarian rule, ethnic violence may be exploited by politicians for their personal or institutional ends, or may erupt as result of worsening economic conditions or other pressure. This may occur even if different ethnic or religious groups have coexisted peacefully in the past. When people do not feel free to express their ethnicity, to speak their language and to practice and transmit their cultural traditions, they are less likely to develop a sense of civic identity and, if seriously threatened, they may offer violent resistance.

52. Civil disorders likely to erupt in violence have complex dynamics. Urban riots, group violence and social unrest have increased in the last three decades in some countries. Repressive tactics may fan violent protest rather than quash it. Civil protest is usually a reaction to perceived injustice, including a lack of accountability of the agents of control. Transparency in official actions and accountability of public officials are key elements in preventing collective protest.[24] Non-lethal substitutes for crowd control can be a helpful adjunct of integrated action and longer-term strategies. Techniques for conflict management and non-violent conflict resolution that avoid the use of force to the maximum extent possible should be part of law enforcement training, in accordance with the Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement Officials.[25]

2. Violence against women and children, including domestic violence

53. Violence against women and children has only recently come to receive considerable public attention. The public outcry against child abuse has led to remedial measures in a number of countries. Advocates of women's rights have drawn attention to the plight of female victims, and a largely self-help movement that has emerged has helped to establish facilities, such as shelters and hotlines, that have since become part of official policy in many countries, though non-governmental initiatives still play an important role, attesting to the persistent need for such help.*

54. Violence against women and children has taken centre stage because of recent tragic events. The tragic use of rape as a systematic instrument of war, as well as of personal or group attacks, has been documented, and the shooting of street children by vigilantes in some countries has resulted in international protest.[26] Because of the covert nature of such abuse, and the powerlessness of its victims, the real extent of violence against women and children is unknown, but its enormous scale has been surmised.

55. In its resolution 1993/26, on violence against women in all its forms, the Economic and Social Council, expressing deep concern about the continuing and endemic violence against women, urged Governments, the specialized agencies of the United Nations and the non-governmental organizations concerned:

(a) To take all possible steps to prevent such violence, to intensify their efforts to use criminal law in order to prohibit violent acts against women;

(b) To promote police and penal systems that combine the protection of society with the prosecution and appropriate punishment of perpetrators;

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*A recent directory lists 379 organizations working against gender violence in Latin America alone (Lori L. Heise, "Violence against women", *World Health*, special issue on violence: a matter of health, vol. 46, No.1 (January-February 1993), p. 21).

(c) To offer full assistance, access to the legal system and, where necessary, counselling, medical, financial and other support to victims;

(d) To include the issue of violence against women in all its forms under the appropriate item of the provisional agenda of the Ninth Congress and in the preparations for and observance of the International Year of the Family, in 1994, under the question of crime prevention and criminal justice. Moreover, in the same resolution, the Council requested the Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice to include the issue in the provisional agenda for its third session.

56. Subsequently, in its resolution 3/1, on violence against women and children, the Commission recalled that the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, adopted by the World Conference on Human Rights, held at Vienna from 14 to 25 June 1993, stated that effective measures were required against female infanticide, harmful child labour, the sale of children and their organs, child prostitution, child pornography and other forms of sexual abuse.[27] The Commission also recalled that article 19 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, adopted by the General Assembly in its resolution 44/25, required States parties to that Convention to take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect the child from all forms of physical or mental violence, including sexual abuse. In addition, in the same resolution, the Commission called for the elimination of violence against women and children in the family, in the general community and where perpetrated or condoned by the State, and emphasized the duty of Governments to refrain from engaging in violence against women and children and to exercise due diligence to prevent, investigate and, in accordance with national legislation, to punish acts of violence against women and children and to provide access to just and effective remedies and specialized assistance to victims.

57. The General Assembly, in its resolution 40/36, on domestic violence, invited Member States concerned to take specific action urgently in order to prevent domestic violence and to render the appropriate assistance to the victims thereof. Subsequently, the Economic and Social Council, in its resolution 1989/67, requested the Secretary-General to undertake further comparative research, studies and reports on developments in the phenomenon of domestic violence from the perspective of criminal justice, criminal law and procedure, and to prepare a report on domestic violence for the Eighth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders.

58. The pervasiveness of domestic violence and its pernicious effects were noted in the comprehensive report on the subject prepared by the Secretary-General for the Eighth Congress (A/CONF.144/17) and in the special study conducted as part of the preparations for the International Year of the Family.[28] Those reports, as well as the United Nations publication *Strategies to Confront Domestic Violence: A Resource Manual*, referred to in paragraph 45 above, contained proposals on comprehensive strategies for dealing with various aspects of the problem, based on expert recommendations. Where the problem of domestic violence has come to the forefront of public attention because of high-profile cases, gender-bias task forces etc., legislative reform has been accelerated, based on the growing role of the State in what was previously deemed a largely private matter. Criminal courts, rather than family courts, have emerged as the main judicial feature, regarded as better suited to dispense punishment and to ensure due process of law. Difficulties persist, however, since criminal courts are not necessarily well suited to provide guidance and supportive intervention for civil, family and juvenile courts. Since domestic violence is usually a recurring phenomenon, the victim is often reluctant and uncooperative, and sentencing is difficult because of a lack of treatment programmes for the offender and concerns about the victim's safety.

59. Comparative studies have shown that some forms of gender violence are universal, occurring in all regions, classes and cultures: homicides, battering, sexual assault, rape and incest. Other forms of violence are widespread but differ in their cultural interpretation. Gender violence, particularly domestic violence and rape, have been shown to be a serious problem in almost all the countries in which surveys on the subject have been conducted.[29] In the case of rape, problems concerning definition and discrepancy in the

perception of what constitutes rape may complicate assessments of its incidence and the introduction of preventive strategies.

60. Some forms of gender violence may be viewed differently and may be legitimized by cultural or religious factors, especially where rape is equated with extramarital sex and where female genitals are mutilated. Trafficking in women and children, especially girls, for sale on the black market as forced labourers and for sexual and reproductive services is prevalent in some regions. Women and girl refugees, who constitute three fourths of the nearly 20 million refugees in the world, are subject to sexual violence and abduction during their flight and in camps.[30] In this connection, it should be recalled that the Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice, in its resolution 3/2, on international traffic in minors, decided that the matter of international traffic in minors should be given priority consideration by the Ninth Congress, under items 2 and 4 of its provisional agenda.

61. National strategies have focused primarily on legal measures and services. Legal reforms, however, such as those aimed at making the commission of domestic violence a criminal offence, have been handicapped by lack of recognition of the seriousness of the issue on the part of some of those expected to deal with it, including the police, prosecutors and judges. Judges, magistrates and law enforcement officers need to be better prepared for the application of new laws or proper interpretation and enforcement of existing laws. In the past, some laws have stressed punishment of the perpetrators without giving proper attention to prevention and treatment. Some have also re-victimized women reluctant to press charges. Other laws have stressed victim protection but have failed to provide the necessary support services, such as safe shelter and counselling. But even attempts to provide support services have often been impeded by lack of funds and training. Thus, structural changes leading to more egalitarian societies, such as the appointment of more women to positions of responsibility, are of vital importance in this context.

D. Strategies for the prevention of violent crime

62. It is important for prevention purposes to view a violent event as the outcome of a long chain of preceding events, which might have been broken at any one of several links, rather than as the product of a set of factors that can be ranked in order of importance. The point is not that any single strategy will eliminate all violence, but that violence levels can be reduced by a variety of individual decisions and non-intrusive public policies.[31] Consequently, different means may have to be used to deal with different kinds of violence, and an operational approach is necessary as more knowledge is acquired regarding the feasibility of various approaches. Nevertheless, some implications can be drawn for possible strategies that would be simultaneously comprehensive and differentiated.

63. Progress in the prevention of violence is most likely when the chances of early success can be maximized by focusing on categories of problems and interventions for which the risk factors are most firmly established, those for which the most positive research results have been obtained and those for which tactics are most readily marshalled. While valuable information has been obtained, much more is needed to establish a comprehensive and reliable database for preventive strategies in the future, to explore aspects neglected by research and to gauge the vectors operating in communities, families and individuals that reinforce the potential for violence.

64. Of the risk factors for violent behaviour, the predisposing ones are probably the most difficult to change or offset as they are often related to broader structural problems such as the concentration of poverty, lack of opportunities, the culture of violence, and family disorganization. There is a need for both comprehensive and specific crime prevention approaches and for interventions at different points; the range of options available includes social and community-level interventions, parental education, child development and behavioural approaches.

65. Factors that have increased the gravity of recent violent crimes include easy access to facilitators of violence, especially firearms. The control of firearms and other weapons is essential. Strict laws on the licensing and possession of guns, with interdiction for minors, already exist and are rigorously implemented in most countries. If more drastic measures cannot be taken to ban such weapons, then their purchase and possession should at least be restricted, the negligent storage of such weapons should be deterred and strict national requirements for the licensing and registration of such weapons should be adopted. Programmes to buy back arms or to exchange guns for toys have also been instituted with some success. The use of guns as an aggravating factor in offences and other measures to deter the use of violence are a necessary part of any strategy.

66. In the past, relatively little was done at the international level in the field of firearms control. Recently, however, the Commission on Narcotic Drugs, in its resolution 9 (XXXVI), expressed its awareness of the link between illicit trafficking in arms and explosives and illicit drug trafficking and recommended that States that had not already done so should consider establishing or improving appropriate controls, especially export controls, on transfers of explosives, munitions and armaments. Following that initiative, the Asia and Pacific Regional Preparatory Meeting for the Ninth Congress (A/CONF.169/RPM.1/Rev.1 and Corr.1, resolution, section V) and the Western Asia Regional Preparatory Meeting for the Ninth Congress (A/CONF.169/RPM.5, resolution, section I.D) called on Member States to promote the adequate control of firearms by means of both regulations and law enforcement. The Ninth Congress may wish to designate effective measures for the control of firearms, with a view to providing policy guidelines on the control of their use in situations involving violent crimes and the prevention of illegal transnational trade in firearms.

67. The linkage between violence and the abuse of alcohol and other substances also underlines the need for adequate programmes, preferably within the community, but also in an institutional setting. Some countries regard alcoholism and drug addiction as primarily medical problems, but even where the attendant violence has brought such a case under the jurisdiction of the criminal justice system, therapeutic principles can be applied in any structured environment, including prisons.

68. Recognizing the gravity of the problem of domestic violence, the international community and individual States and organizations have recently sought to take more energetic measures against it, largely as a result of campaigning by women's groups and children's advocates. The adoption of new laws, coupled with stringent law enforcement, is probably a first step, not only as a legal disposition but also as a normative standard and a statement that certain types of behaviour will not be tolerated. A number of countries have adopted provisions designed to curtail gender violence. Assault is already forbidden under criminal law, but as a crime committed by men against women it has sometimes been interpreted differently than as a crime committed by men against men, partly because of some social and cultural factors that have left the issue beyond the scope of the law. The international requirements laid down in recent General Assembly and Economic and Social Council resolutions should help to change such attitudes and to create a climate for better understanding. The United Nations publication *Strategies for Confronting Domestic Violence: A Resource Manual*,[22] referred to in paragraph 45 above, should give persons with responsibility for, or interest in, ending the violence that women experience in their own homes ideas on actions that they can take and strategies that they can promote to solve the problem. Action by United Nations bodies could also create another level of redress and could further the accountability of States.

69. Technical assistance and other collaborative efforts could also help in this endeavour. Both national and state or provincial plans for the reduction of violent crime have been developed in some countries using a comprehensive approach and a continuum of interventions to deal with violence. An institutional framework and material support for violence reduction could also help by facilitating concerted action. In some countries

(e.g. the United States), special structures and funding sources have been established for this purpose,* and they might be contemplated in other countries where violence persists. Concrete programme ideas and examples can be a major help. Building solidarity is a key to the success of strategies for the prevention of violence. Such strategies can also stem collective violence where there is a shared civic identity, a common stake in the future and a responsiveness to diverse social needs. For example, some countries have made major strides on their own in setting up police stations run by women for women.

70. There is significant potential in the expressed readiness of certain donor countries to give appropriate assistance to the police, courts and other relevant institutions in developing countries and in countries in transition. International leadership should foster the achievement of tangible results in that area, to be solidified by the results of the Ninth Congress, as well as relevant initiatives taken in the context of the World Summit for Social Development and the Fourth World Conference on Women.

III. JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND YOUTH CRIME

71. At the regional preparatory meetings for the Ninth Congress, States from every region reported sharp increases in juvenile delinquency and youth crime. In countries in transition, police-reported juvenile crime has doubled but clear-up rates have remained stable.[32] In most cases the average age of the offenders is also dropping. Those facts, coupled with the estimation that by the year 2000 more than 50 per cent of the world population will be under the age of 15,[33] highlight the seriousness of the problems of juvenile delinquency and youth crime.

72. Crimes committed by juveniles run the gamut from petty larceny to murder. In developing countries, economic factors may motivate youth to commit crime. The offences seem to be committed primarily out of a need for the basic necessities of life.[34] Deteriorating economic conditions also place additional strain on family units and result in increased numbers of broken homes, dysfunctional families and homeless children. Studies have shown that violence and delinquency are related to relative deprivation,[35] and countries with greater income disparities seem to be experiencing a higher level of violence.

73. A developed national economy does not necessarily reduce the risks to the young, or the rate or severity of juvenile delinquency. There are many young serious offenders in some of the most economically developed countries, though they generally come from disadvantaged areas. Most acts of juvenile delinquency involve petty crime; however, in some countries, particularly countries in transition, it has been reported that violent crime is increasing.**

74. At the same time, many children are victims as well as offenders. They grow up in an adverse climate of violence and pervasive insecurity in inner-city ghettos and other marginalized areas that may be as dangerous as war zones.[36] Rather than being safe havens, the home and school are often part of the battleground, where the young are at risk of violence, negative peer pressure and gang intimidation.***

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*As suggested in *Violence in Urban America: Mobilizing a Response*, summary of a conference organized by the National Research Council, the Committee on Law and Justice, the Commission on Behavioural and Social Sciences and Education, and the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University (Washington, D.C., National Academy Press, 1994).

**In the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, juvenile crime, which had been at a relatively low level, increased by 80 per cent over a 10-year period; as a result, juveniles accounted for 20 per cent of all violent crimes (J. Finckenauer and L. Kelly, "Juvenile delinquency in youth subcultures in the former Soviet Union", *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice*, vol. 16, No. 2 (1992)).

***Recent reports from two African countries, for instance, noted that rape (including rape leading to death) was tolerated in some boarding schools, and systematic sexual harassment and abuse were considered by male teachers and civil servants to be quite natural (see: Jan Pronk, *Calling for Change: International Strategies to End Violence against Women, Report of a Seminar, The*

A. Children particularly at risk

1. Working children

75. Ruthless child labour practices can be considered modern forms of slavery. The Commission on Human Rights, in its resolution 1993/79, adopted the Programme of Action for the Elimination of the Exploitation of Child Labour, which advocates a number of measures to be taken at the national and local levels. Those measures include information campaigns to raise public awareness of the problem, educational and vocational training to prevent the exploitation of child labour, social action to help families and their children, development aid, the stipulation and application of labour standards, the adoption by States of appropriate policies and programmes, and support from international agencies. In particular, young children are often forced to work under hazardous conditions in exploitative jobs in, for example, sweatshops and brothels.[37]

2. Street children

76. Children without families, or whose family links are tenuous, are particularly at risk, especially when they spend most of their time in the streets. Aside from having to fight daily for their survival, such children are victims of abuse, exploitation, trafficking, disappearances and killings.* The number of street children worldwide is staggering: estimates range from 100 million to 150 million. And the number seems to be increasing,[38] largely as a result of civil strife, rapid urbanization, economic recession and dwindling social support.

77. Most street children survive by working in the informal sector as street vendors, petty hawkers, shoeshine boys, scavengers of raw materials, thieves and street prostitutes. The human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) and acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) are spreading among street children, especially among those drawn into prostitution. Involvement in illicit drugs ranges from glue-sniffing to being coopted into the illicit drug trade, and the coercion of children into organized criminal activities is particularly common.

78. Attempts to help street children have often focused on their immediate needs, including the provision of institutional facilities.** While such attempts cannot tackle the larger problems of inequity and deprivation, they can serve as focal points for efforts to reclaim such children and to integrate them into the mainstream of society.

3. The instrumental use of children

79. On the recommendation of the Eighth Congress, the General Assembly adopted resolution 45/115, on the instrumental use of children in criminal activities. In that resolution, the General Assembly expressed concern about children being led by adults into a criminal lifestyle. Such concern also led to the convening of an expert group meeting on the subject at Rome from 8 to 10 May 1992.[39] There are a number of factors conducive to the instrumental use of children that need to be dealt with if it is to be curtailed. Among them are lack of specific legislation for the penalization of adults who exploit children and, where such legislation

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Hague, 6-9 June 1993 (May 1994), pp. 13-14).

*For example, in Brazil such acts have been perpetrated by vigilantes; and in Peru, where the crime of terrorism has been extended to adolescents, disappearances have posed a problem (see the report on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography submitted by Vitit Munterborn, Special Rapporteur, in accordance with Commission on Human Rights resolution 1993/82 (E/CN.4/1994/84, p. 22)).

**At São Paulo, for instance, communities have been assisted by the Pastorate for Children to mobilize protective services for their children. The UNICEF urban basic services programme is seeking to include the reinforcement of family and community solidarity and protection.

exists, lack of its proper enforcement. Existing legislation on child exploitation should therefore be reviewed and appropriate reforms should be carried out, bearing in mind United Nations instruments for juvenile justice and for the prevention of juvenile delinquency[40] and human rights safeguards.

80. Comprehensive action should be taken at the national and international levels to improve the prevention and control of the instrumental use of children. Technical cooperation, advisory services, the training of personnel and pilot projects should be initiated to help reduce the problem. The computerization of data and the exchange of information on offending syndicates and other forms of mutual cooperation should also be pursued to that end.

B. Mitigating predisposing risk factors

81. Strategies to safeguard children at risk should be comprehensive. Piecemeal attempts to deal with delinquency problems are unlikely to succeed because they often do not take into account the urban environment.

1. Strengthening families

82. Measures aimed at strengthening families should discourage pregnancies among teenagers and should improve access to critical support services, such as child-care and home visitor programmes. Such measures should focus on mitigating the situation of dysfunctional families or families characterized by erratic, absent or excessive discipline, a high probability of mistreatment and a lack of positive role models. Early intervention can help to put an end to the cycle whereby child abuse, and the delinquency that is associated with such abuse, is passed on from generation to generation. Various measures to strengthen the family were suggested in 1994, the International Year of the Family. The United Nations Guidelines for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency (The Riyadh Guidelines) (General Assembly resolution 45/112, annex) indicate the directions to be pursued; they need to be more widely known and practical action models need to be provided.

2. Strengthening communities

83. Communities suffering from violence are breeding grounds for delinquency. They have to be revitalized in order to provide hope in the form of concrete opportunities for youth so that such persons do not adopt criminal lifestyles.

84. Young people should be closely involved in efforts to reclaim run-down neighbourhoods. In some places, youth leaders and social facilitators are being trained with that in mind, as part of multifaceted local revitalization schemes. Structured cultural and recreational activities may help to bind young people and to provide positive outlets for their energy. Community projects could be pursued that would involve the participation of youth as both helpers and the persons being helped.

3. The school and transition to work

85. Schools have a crucial and difficult mission: to impart knowledge and to develop know-how and to compensate for the failings of parents and society by providing a suitable environment for human growth. Especially during times of pervasive social change, conflicting values and lack of stable norms, schools need to impart moral and civic education. Moral education, which is already a part of school programmes in some countries, can help young people to develop self-control and to learn to resolve conflicts in a non-violent manner rather than through aggression. There are initiatives in various countries to train teachers to prevent misbehaviour among pupils through social contracts, to manage misbehaviour when it does occur and to better deal with chronically disruptive pupils.

86. Some forms of early intervention seek to maximize individual potential, to compensate for initial disadvantage and to provide developmental support.* In many places, schools are increasingly becoming multi-purpose organizations, providing diagnostic and health services, counselling, sports and recreational facilities, training in basic skills, and vocational guidance. School-based community centres with comprehensive programming for youth and their families provide safe havens that are open all day throughout the year, offering a range of educational, cultural and recreational activities, as well as access to social services. Such centres could be concentrated in communities identified as having the greatest number of young people at risk.

87. One of the key problems for many young people is bridging the gap between school and work. Adverse economic conditions have resulted in increased numbers of unemployed youth whose aspirations cannot be fulfilled by legitimate means. A more integral approach to education and human resource development might reduce the structural imbalances that frustrate young people attempting to achieve their goals and that eventually lead them to attempt to reach those goals even by breaking the law.

4. The role of the media

88. There is a long-standing debate on the relationship of violence in the media, especially television violence, to heightened aggressive behaviour in children and youth.[41] The issue is not an easy one, as the discussion of it often leads to the idea of censorship and restriction of freedom of expression.

89. The policy debate on the need for media regulation continues. In some countries, for example, there are government agencies that monitor television programmes and motion-picture films and do not permit excess violence to be shown. Even in countries where there is no such regulation, major television networks have agreed on a common set of standards regarding the violent content of their programmes.[42] The adopted voluntary standards, however, have been seemingly unsuccessful in reducing television violence.

90. A broader effort to enlist the cooperation of all those involved in the media, including journalists and programmers, is needed to reduce sensationalism, which affects not only children but the public as a whole by raising levels of fear and inuring people to human suffering. The media, through responsible reporting and special educational campaigns, has a crucial role to play in promoting socialization, delinquency prevention and empathy for victims. The one-day workshop on mass media and crime prevention to be held within the framework of the Ninth Congress will provide a suitable forum in which to discuss that issue.

C. Reclaiming delinquents

91. There is wide support in the juvenile justice field, and apparently among the public, for rules 13.1 and 13.2 of the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice (The Beijing Rules) (General Assembly resolution 40/33, annex), which stipulate that detention pending trial should be used only as a measure of last resort and for the shortest possible period of time and that, whenever possible, detention pending trial shall be replaced by alternative measures. According to rule 13.4 of the Beijing Rules, juveniles under detention pending trial should be kept separate form adults. And, according to rule 17 of the United Nations Rules for the Protection of Juveniles Deprived of their Liberty (General Assembly resolution 45/113, annex), untried juvenile detainees should be separated from convicted juveniles.

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*The Head Start programme in the United States and a school programme sponsored by Scandinavian countries and UNESCO for youngsters from disadvantaged zones at Santiago have yielded positive results, including reduced delinquency. Programmes to reduce truancy (viewed as pre-delinquent behaviour), such as the multi-agency Project Hope in California (involving the school district, the county probation department, the county social service agency and the police department), have succeeded in keeping students in school and reducing daytime crime. Some, such as the Drug Abuse Resistance Education (DARE) in New Zealand, have successfully utilized peer pressure and a variety of techniques.

1. Individual offenders

92. In many countries, the juvenile justice paradigm has seemingly shifted from rehabilitation to accountability and sanctioning, but that need not reduce the use of diversion from institutional measures at various stages of juvenile court processing and the reliance on non-institutional options, such as work-release programmes, probation, community service or other forms of restitution.[43] In order for diversion from institutional measures and alternatives to work properly, programmes should be run without stigmatizing their participants and should be suited to the particular needs of their participants. Evaluations of such measures have been mixed and require further research; however, preliminary findings indicate that the younger the offender, and the more frequent the contact between the young person and the provider of the service, the more likely it is that diversion will have a positive effect.[44]

93. The negative consequences of this approach include its possible "net-widening effect", which may occur when there is an increase in the total number of young people subject to the juvenile court's services or control, as a result of the use of non-custodial alternatives. To overcome those shortcomings, better targeting of youth for diversion programmes has been suggested, with agreement among the various professionals concerned (the police, prosecutors, judges and programme staff) and referrals to appropriate community agencies. Greater attention should be paid to due process and to the human rights of juveniles.

94. Research has found that chronic offenders are responsible for the majority of violent offences.[45] Problem behaviours, such as delinquency and drug abuse, often occur together, and the earlier problem behaviours are manifested, the earlier and more likely the progression is to "careers" in more serious forms of those behaviours.

95. But programmes for the rehabilitation of juvenile offenders recommended in various United Nations instruments, can be effective even for juveniles who are serious offenders. The emphasis in United Nations standards in juvenile justice is on reducing institutionalization to a minimum, avoiding punishment and promoting reintegration into society. A proper classification of juveniles may be required, both in terms of matching the needs with the services to meet them and in terms of assessing risk, in order to decide whether a juvenile should be in a residential or a non-residential programme and whether there is a requirement for custody or for intensive supervision in the community.

96. Special efforts to ensure more effective apprehension, prosecution and treatment of such serious and chronic offenders include "vertical prosecution" (a single prosecutor follows the case), limited charge- and sentence-bargaining, assistance to victims and witnesses, and special correctional services for convicted youth. In the past decade, some jurisdictions have reconsidered the purposes of juvenile courts. Sometimes this has led to placing less emphasis on the role of rehabilitation and the child's "best interest" and more emphasis on public safety, punishment, deterrence and system accountability.[46] Sometimes it has led to a determination to keep as many young people out of custody as possible, together with a growth of non-custodial measures, but where confinement has been inevitable, the trend has been away from large training schools and towards smaller community-based units.

97. There are also intermediate measures, such as half-way houses, day detention and community programmes that can be applied in a combination of residential and non-residential settings. Analyses of their outcomes have concluded that those with increased staff contacts are the most successful and that behavioural approach methods are most likely to reduce recidivism.*

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*In a recent analysis, repeated positive results were evident with intensive community supervision utilizing college volunteers, behavioural/cognitive problem-solving therapies, parent training and life skills (such as outdoor or wilderness programmes). The most successful programmes were multifaceted and had an impact on the offender's thinking; they included one or more effective projects

2. *Youth gangs*

98. The term youth gang refers to a group of youths and young adults (mostly 14-24 years old) that operates primarily in the streets and engages in a sufficient amount of antisocial activity to warrant attention by the criminal justice system.[47] Such gangs* are usually active in lower-class communities of inner cities or other marginalized areas. Often linked by their common ethnic or other background, their age limits seem to be expanding. They have become more violent in recent years, particularly as a result of the illegal use of sophisticated lethal weapons such as firearms and involvement in drug trafficking.[48]

99. It is believed that gang membership has grown because it fulfils a need for belonging and identity. Gangs have set up franchises for the illicit distribution of drugs, especially in smaller cities where law enforcement may be less stringent. Schools, which used to be neutral zones, have in some countries become the scene of gang warfare, and of recruitment by means of coercion and intimidation.

100. It has been suggested that, rather than analysing why young people join gangs, the relevant authorities should focus on what gangs actually do and on their differential impact so that preventive and control measures can be improved. Among the preventive approaches to gangs that should be explored further is their conversion from negative to positive groups, coopted into activities designed to develop positive goals, the resulting social approval serving as added reinforcement.

D. Future action

101. A comprehensive, systemic response to juvenile criminality requires an array of approaches and dispositions that take due account of both community and individual needs, protect basic rights, provide appropriate referrals, collaborate closely with various service providers, rely on informed and committed personnel and try to evaluate the effectiveness of interventions with different target groups. The double role of many young people as both victims and offenders makes their situation particularly poignant. Some hardened young offenders have been subjected to grievous abuse and/or neglect, which has deadened their feelings.

102. How the application of United Nations instruments on juvenile justice can be enhanced is a pivotal question. An expert group meeting on children and juveniles in detention: application of human rights standards was held at Vienna from 30 October to 4 November 1994. The meeting, which was hosted by the Government of Austria and organized by the Centre for Human Rights of the Secretariat, the Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Branch and UNICEF, discussed pressing questions and produced recommendations (E/CN.4/1995/100) on children and juveniles deprived of their liberty; the instrumental use of children and juveniles by adults in and for criminal activities; the exploitation of children; standard setting and implementation; and coordination and technical cooperation.

103. Among those recommendations, special emphasis was placed on the necessity of exploring and evaluating alternatives to detention, to ensure compliance with the principle that deprivation of liberty should only be used as a measure of last resort (E/CN.4/1995/100, recommendation 28). The Governments were called upon to ensure that all international norms and standards designed to protect children from exploitation

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targeting the offender's behaviour, feelings and vocational or interpersonal skills, together with cognition, self-evaluation, expectations, values, and understanding and appraisal of the world. Most effective were those that fostered the development of thinking and reasoning skills, social perception and problem-solving (George Comstock and Haejung Paik, *The Effects of Television Violence on Aggressive Behaviour: a Meta-analysis*, preliminary report to the National Research Council for the Panel on the Understanding and Control of Violent Behaviour (Syracuse University, 1990)).

*They have been given special names in some countries (for example, *teppisti* in Italy, *chinpira* in Japan, and *motorburen ungdom* or *skinnskallar* in Sweden).

by adults were thorough reflected on regional, national and local legislation and practice (E/CN.4/1995/100, recommendation 43). In addition States were urged to adopt legislation to punish and redress the wrongs caused to exploited children (E/CN.4/1995/100, recommendation 46). The Ninth Congress may wish to provide appropriate follow-up to those recommendations.

IV. VICTIMS OF CRIME

104. Strategies to reduce the level of victimization are a counterpart of strategies to prevent or reduce violence and crime. The Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power (General Assembly resolution 40/34, annex) outlined the main parameters for efforts in this area. Assessments of the application of the Declaration have revealed progress in the promulgation of relevant legislation, acknowledgement of the victim's role in the criminal justice process, provision of victim services, wider use of compensation and restitution, and recognition of victims' rights. But much remains to be done, especially in the area of prevention. Cognizant of these needs, the International Scientific and Professional Advisory Council, in cooperation with the local authorities, convened a meeting of experts at Onati, Spain, from 13 to 16 June 1993 to consider the prevention of victimization and the protection of and assistance to victims.[49] Relevant issues were also considered by the International Symposium on Victimology held at Adelaide, Australia, from 21 to 26 August 1994 under the theme "Victimization and violence: strategies for survival". Salient questions relative to victims were raised and progress in the treatment of victims was assessed.[50]

A. Reducing victimization

105. Reducing victimization is essentially a three-pronged task, involving the potential victim, the offender and the public at large, including the agents of crime control. In order not to become victims, individuals can take greater safety precautions. For example, they can avoid dangerous situations and areas, although this is not always feasible and such situations are not always recognizable. There are more visible but controversial measures, such as the installation of television cameras to monitor street activity, which might mean invasion of privacy, or the registration of released sex offenders, which is likely to prevent their reintegration into the community. Better means of risk assessment and treatment follow-up might be more effective in preventing recidivism and in reducing the danger to potential victims. The contagious effect of fear on people's lifestyles is reflected in the fortress mentality, which has increased the isolation and alienation of city-dwellers and has resulted in many of them moving to the suburbs. Crime prevention and victim agencies have produced a variety of materials to assist different groups, particularly the elderly,[51] women[52] and children, and have provided special training in avoiding victimization.*

1. Educational measures

106. The United Nations has been called upon to promote education on the prevention of victimization. At the national level, training packages and guidelines could be developed to educate the public, utilizing, for example, information on victimization patterns and trends at the local level and on the avoidance of victimization. Appropriate training packages might also be developed for civil servants inside and outside the criminal justice system and for policy makers, in order to help prevent victimization of different kinds.[53] Like crime trends, victimization trends might be forecast to make counter-strategies more informed and thus more effective. In some communities, police teams include victim specialists, whose help may be enlisted

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*Such education does not, however, always yield promising results (Robert C. Davis and Barbara Smith, *Teaching Victims Crime Prevention Skills: Can Individuals Lower Their Risk of Crime?* (New York, Victim Services Agency, October 1993)).

to reduce trauma. Probation and parole services can also play a pivotal role. Community crime prevention efforts need to incorporate victimization prevention.

107. Cross-cultural victimization studies, such as the international crime (victim) survey carried out by the United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI) in cooperation with the Ministry of Justice of the Netherlands, offer not only a common yardstick for assessing crime situations, but also an empirical basis for policy-making.[54] The promising results of national victimization surveys, including those conducted in some developing countries as part of the international crime (victim) survey, suggest a need for their expansion.

108. In addition to situational prevention, measures should be taken to diminish the likelihood of recurrent victimization. Repressive strategies may fuel resentment that can emerge in a more violent form. A confident society that promotes and encourages human contact is the best insurance against crime and victimization. Violent victimization often has its roots in cultural attitudes that promote conflict, including bigotry, racism, religious fanaticism, sexism, homophobia and xenophobia. An effective policy of victimization prevention should have as its principal aim the changing of such attitudes and the promotion of tolerance and social harmony.

2. Conflict management and resolution

109. The Economic and Social Council, in its resolution 1990/22, on victims of crime and abuse of power, requested the Secretary-General, together with the entities of the United Nations system and other appropriate organizations, to undertake and coordinate action to prevent and curtail severe victimization. Lesser disputes can sometimes be resolved without an adversarial procedure. The potential of this approach has been recognized,[55] and it is being widely applied in some countries, through mediation, arbitration or alternative dispute resolution, undertaken as an adjunct or alternative to criminal justice proceedings. In some cases, the parties are required to try mediation before they go to court.

110. Various types of mediation may be utilized, including rights-based, interest-based and therapeutic mediation. Negotiation, neutral fact-finding, investigation of complaints by an ombudsman, private judging (by a judge or neutral arbiter), mini-trials, summary jury trials and moderated settlement conferences can all be employed, tailored to specific situations and needs.[56] In many countries, courts are increasingly being supplemented by a variety of alternative forums for resolving consumer complaints, landlord-tenant problems, domestic conflicts and other matters.

111. In certain countries, mediation has been used primarily with juvenile offenders to encourage recognition of the damage caused by their acts and to facilitate restitution. Programmes have been initiated to develop conflict resolution skills for preventive diplomacy and to train international peacemakers and peace-keepers. It may be useful to use conflict resolution in syllabuses for police training or retraining and where there has been excessive use of force and/or continuing conflict.

B. Victims and the criminal justice system

112. The second injury that the criminal justice process all too often inflicts on the victim - the key player as a witness - has been widely deplored, with some positive results.[57] Appropriate procedures and facilities have been introduced or adapted in various jurisdictions to lessen further trauma. Victim advocates and strengthened victim and witness protection are frequent features. The victim's place is often precarious even in countries that could draw on their rich traditions of victim-centred justice. There also seems to be greater

acceptance of input from victims, who - contrary to expectations - have not sought harsher punishment.* Awareness-raising of these issues, training, and exploration of different approaches can help in identifying promising options linked to indigenous customs rather than transplanting alien models.

113. The African Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders conducted a Seminar on Victims of Crime and the Prevention of Victimization at Kampala from 29 June to 3 July 1992. Emphasis was placed on the need for criminal justice reforms to return to a system that was more responsive to the needs and rights of crime victims who currently tend to suffer from institutional neglect and to seek social harmony rather than relying solely on an adversarial system. It was recommended that prosecutors and other justice officials should be sensitized to those requirements and that victims should be informed about matters that were their legitimate concern, in addition to providing some input in the criminal process. The need for closer links between people and the police was also stressed, as was the danger of viewing victims as if they were guilty, or of ignoring them, as in the case of domestic violence.

114. In sensitive cases, such as those dealing with child abuse, collaborative investigations by multidisciplinary teams hold special promise. Investigations of child abuse are especially delicate and should be conducted so as not to traumatize the child further. Special techniques, including videotaped testimony, can be used for that purpose.

C. Victim services

115. In many countries services for victims have been developed, reflecting greater concern for victims' needs. They range from shelters and hotlines for battered women and children to multi-purpose victim assistance services, including counselling or therapy, as well as material assistance. The police can play a strategic role in referring victims to service providers, as the first line of victim aid.

116. In some countries, victim assistance service providers encourage victims to participate in criminal proceedings, guided by victim advocates.[58] Specialists in the treatment of post-traumatic stress disorder are in increasing demand, including those able to train trainers and adjunct staff, educators, health-care personnel and community workers who deal with traumatized people. The role of non-governmental and professional organizations in this area is also important. For example, the European forum on victim services and other organizations are fostering the exchange of expertise and experiences in this field. Crisis intervention services have also been developed for victims of violence, especially on survivors of attempted homicide and rape.[59] Counselling services for different kinds of victims may be combined with an advocacy role and efforts at re-victimization prevention.

117. Further research is needed, however, to determine what is most helpful to which kinds of victims. Materials relevant for practitioners should be gathered, and training materials should be annotated to facilitate their use in international work. The promotion of professional and ethical standards for trainers might also be necessary, as well as the preparation of a global comparative report on victim assistance and conflict resolution. It has been recommended (E/1993/10, para. 22) that a manual on education for the prevention of victimization should be prepared that would describe the avenues and means of assistance and redress that may be pursued. The preparation of a manual for victims was also recommended by the National Preparatory

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*In the United States, a study of 36 states found virtually no evidence that victims' participation in the criminal justice system was at the defendant's expense. A field test conducted in New York County concluded that impact statements neither increased officials' consideration of harm to victims nor resulted in generally harsher sentencing decisions (R. C. Davis and B. E. Smith, "The effect of victim impact statements on sentencing decisions: a test in an urban setting", *Justice Quarterly*, vol. 11, No. 3 (September 1994), pp. 453-469; and R. C. Davis and B. E. Smith, "Victim impact statements and victim satisfaction: an unfulfilled promise?", *Journal of Criminal Justice*, vol. 22, No. 1 (1994), pp. 1-2).

Meeting for the Ninth United Nations Congresss on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders held at Buenos Aires from 7 to 10 August 1994.

D. Restitution and compensation

118. Long neglected, the concept of restitution has returned to the fore in the past two decades, particularly in the form of creative restitution as a means of restorative justice. Reparation is usually ordered for victims in felony cases but may be ordered for misdemeanours. Restitution, often imposed as a condition of probation, is usually limited to economic or pecuniary losses and may include community restitution. The possibilities of restitution are severely constrained by offenders' lack of means, but the continuation of the restitution obligation on the offenders' part has been urged until it is discharged.[60]

119. In recent years, compensation or the extension of crime compensation provisions and benefits has been introduced in a number of jurisdictions.* Compensation provisions are generally contained in broader victim legislation, though some countries have introduced specific dispositions. Compensation is usually granted to victims of violent crime or special categories of it, such as terrorism. Most States compensate victims for medical expenses, lost wages and mental health counselling or other rehabilitation services. Some programmes consider the victim's financial need. Until recently, domestic violence was not included in most restitution initiatives. The inclusion of domestic violence as a crime for which victims can be compensated is evidence of a change in attitudes as a result of increased sensitization to the problem and advocacy on behalf of its victims.

120. The problem of reparation to victims of massive abuse may be a major one. While some redress for such victims is being obtained, it is still deemed largely insufficient; it should be significantly expanded. All agencies and mechanisms dealing with human rights and humanitarian issues at the national and international levels should be mindful of the perspective of victims, and of the fact that victims often suffer long-term consequences of the wrongs inflicted on them (there may even be an increase in post-traumatic stress over time).

E. Victims' rights

121. The victims' rights movement has recently gained considerable ground. The legitimation of improved status, reflected in victims' rights bills, was felt to be necessary to ensure its observance in practice. A model victims' rights act and a code for victims have also been proposed at the International Symposium on Victimology held at Adelaide, Australia.[61] In some countries, victims have been granted certain rights,[62] but elsewhere, even where extensive assistance is given to them, such official status has not been claimed, largely because of the belief that victims primarily need healing and assistance rather than a stronger voice in criminal proceedings. Reservations have also been expressed that such rights might jeopardize those of offenders. That objection is denied by victim advocates and others, including human rights advocates, who feel that the rights of both offenders and victims should be protected and that there is no inherent conflict.[63]

122. Perhaps the implied controversy between victims' and offenders' rights is a carry-over from the adversarial system. As procedures such as victim-offender reconciliation, restitution and community service are more widely used, the implied confrontation may be assuaged and further means may be developed to advance the cause of justice, appropriate treatment and, ultimately, crime prevention, in the interest of all the parties and society as a whole. The Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power incorporates basic principles to be taken into account in prospective legislation and reforms. Its relevance is reflected in the consonance of recent national initiatives.[64] As the general public becomes

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*In the United States, for instance, almost all states now receive victim compensation grants under the victims of crime act.

more aware of the non-traditional forms of victimization described in the Declaration (e.g. communities as victims, victims of collective violence or of environmental and economic offences), imaginative approaches will be necessary.

F. Future action

123. The Economic and Social Council, in its resolution 1990/22, recognized the need for continuing efforts to give effect to the Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power and to adapt it to meet the full range of needs and circumstances of different countries. Victimization reduction and technical cooperation projects for the establishment of victim services need to be given more priority in many countries. Victim-related initiatives, now dispersed throughout the United Nations system under various rubrics, could be consolidated. For example, recommendations for the treatment of victims that may involve cooperation with the Office of Legal Affairs of the Secretariat were prepared for the International Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of the former Yugoslavia since 1991, to be implemented also by the International Tribunal for Rwanda. Measures against the victimization of immigrants and displaced persons are of common interest with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. The Ninth Congress may wish to consider recommending, through the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly, ways and means of preventing victimization, including inter-agency cooperation involving the Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Branch.

V. PROMOTING INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN CRIME PREVENTION

124. Crime and victimization prevention are national and international tasks that are increasingly overlapping. The alarming expansion of organized crime and other transnational forms of criminality have made it clear that no country or community is immune and that without concerted strategies within and among countries there is little prospect of curtailing them. National phenomena, such as urban crime, violent criminality, delinquency and the resulting victimization likewise have wider implications: violence in inner cities is linked to illicit drugs and firearms - staples of illicit international trade and its local outlets, which attract disenchanted youth for their pernicious activities.

125. Even local crime has wider ramifications, since strategies and means of counteraction can profit from shared knowledge and models developed elsewhere. They can also gain from professional exchanges and the close cooperation of criminal justice agencies and crime prevention specialists with their counterparts. The professionalism of personnel needs to be raised and competence should be increased in devising crime prevention programmes tailored to the needs of different countries and communities. Inner-city and inter-agency cooperation needs to be considerably expanded and institutionalized, bilaterally and multilaterally, including horizontal links between the various services. The United Nations can play a facilitating role, and the Ninth Congress may wish to recommend priorities, concrete operational mechanisms and support systems to enhance the results.

A. Criminal justice and other agencies

1. Global initiatives

126. The Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Branch has been playing a leading role in furthering global action in the field of crime prevention strategies, in cooperation with regional institutes for the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders, affiliated or associated with the United Nations. The Branch is charged with the implementation of various mandates, as proposed by previous United Nations congresses on the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders and by the Commission on Crime Prevention and

Criminal Justice. Specific recommendations of the Ninth Congress, for transmission to the Commission, will help in the fulfilment of that task. UNICRI could assist in that work by, for example, sponsoring and coordinating a series of comparative case-studies on crime prevention strategies to curtail urban violence.

127. Collaborative work may also be undertaken with other United Nations entities. For example, the healthy cities programme could be facilitated by cooperating with the World Health Organization. Other examples include a joint programme with UNESCO on violence prevention and the culture of peace or a joint programme with UNICEF on the protection of street children. Collaborative programmes with the United Nations International Drug Control Programme could include joint initiatives on the prevention and treatment of drug-related offences, prevention of the instrumental use of children in drug trafficking, the reduction of drug-related violence, and control of illicit trafficking in firearms and of illicit drug trafficking.

128. In the statement of principles and programme of action of the United Nations crime prevention and criminal justice programme (General Assembly resolution 46/152, annex, para. 8), it is stated that any increases in the capacity and capabilities of perpertrators of crime are matched by similar increases in the capacity and capabilities of law enforcement and criminal justice authorities. With the increased dimension and sophistication of international transportation, all kinds of criminal activities now have an international aspect. Even an effective strategy for crime prevention will not succeed if some members of the international community cannot commit themselves to it. Strengthening of the law enforcement capacities of States needs to be appropriately reflected in bilateral development assistance to developing countries and countries in transition. At the multilateral level, it is necessary to enhance the allocation of resources for technical assistance in this field. The beneficiaries of such assistance are not only the recipient States, but also the world community. Enhancing the capacity of any one State will lead to enhancing its capacity to actively participate in international efforts.

129. Thus, a more active role in this field should be played by funding agencies engaged in development assistance. The establishment of fair and effective crime prevention and criminal justice systems is a prerequisite for sustainable development. The Economic and Social Council, in its resolution 1992/22, section VI, requested the Secretary-General to assist in mobilizing support for the United Nations crime prevention and criminal justice programme and in undertaking vigorous fund-raising activities to strengthen particularly the operational capacity of its technical assistance and advisory services, *inter alia*, by establishing collaborative relationships with UNDP, the World Bank, other United Nations funding agencies and regional development banks and by exploring innovative partnerships to finance joint technical assistance projects. The African Regional Preparatory Meeting for the Ninth Congress (A/CONF.169/RPM.2, resolution, section II) and the Latin American and Caribbean Regional Preparatory Meeting for the Ninth Congress (A/CONF.169/RPM.4, resolution, section II) urged UNDP and the World Bank, as well as international, regional and national funding agencies, to support technical cooperation activities devoted to strengthening the rule of law and to cooperating with the United Nations crime prevention and criminal justice programme, in order to ensure proper coordination.

130. The interregional advisers for crime prevention and criminal justice can ascertain the needs of States in the areas under consideration by the Ninth Congress and can help to formulate appropriate requests for assistance. Viable crime prevention strategies should be linked to broader socio-economic policies in order to improve material conditions, to reduce marginalization and exclusion from the mainstream and to promote social justice.

2. Regional cooperation

131. Strategies to prevent and counteract violence and crime can benefit from shared knowledge and models developed elsewhere. States with similar circumstances and traditions can pool information and know-how in dealing with their urban crime, violence and delinquency problems, as well as in assisting victims. By

harmonizing their policies and legislation, drawing on the relevant United Nations standards, norms and guidelines, they can better coordinate their action.

132. There are a number of institutes that have played a major role in initiating programmes in the field of crime prevention, such as the regional institutes for the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders affiliated with the United Nations, namely the Asia and Far East Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, the Latin American Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, the European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control, affiliated with the United Nations, and the African Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders. The regional institutes have been in the vanguard of the promotion of the regional cooperation and coordination in the field of crime prevention and criminal justice, the furtherance of more coherent policies and guidelines, and the provision of training courses and seminars on planning for crime prevention, particularly in the context of development and urbanization. In addition, the Regional Adviser on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice for Asia and the Far East* has played a crucial role in this regard, focusing on specific needs and demands in that region.

133. The institutes or centres in the field of crime prevention and criminal justice, associated with the United Nations, such as the Arab Security Studies and Training Centre, the Australian Institute of Criminology, the International Centre for Criminal Law Reform and Criminal Justice Policy and the International Institute of Higher Studies in Criminal Sciences, have also joined in several regional initiatives in crime prevention. The newly joined Constituent Board of the International Center for the Prevention of Crime Montreal (propose Institute), with its envisaged training, research and clearing-house functions, can also play a major role in promoting viable approaches and links in view of its special competence in crime prevention and victim assistance.

134. These activities can be further extended and geared towards the implementation of the priorities to be identified by the Ninth Congress and the Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice. When finalized, the proposed guidelines for cooperation and technical assistance in the field of urban crime prevention (Economic and Social Council resolution 1994/20, annex), as well as other recommendations in the field of crime prevention, will provide a basis for training, especially if annotated in the light of regional needs. Pilot and demonstration projects could also be undertaken at the regional and subregional levels to show how the proposed approaches could be translated into practice. The institutes that have done extensive work on the issues to be considered by the Ninth Congress could provide regional annotations to appear in publications such as reports or manuals.

135. Special assistance is needed to enable less affluent countries to collect and process the necessary information, including statistical data, and to identify specific needs. The regional institutes for the prevention and the treatment of offenders might collaborate more closely with regional intergovernmental organizations that already have an interest in such matters or that might contemplate related initiatives. Close cooperation with regional non-governmental organizations, such as the Forum on Urban Security in Europe, the Latin American Forum of Mayors for Urban Safety and the Asia Crime Prevention Foundation, is also crucial.

B. Mass media

136. The potential role of the media in preventing violence and crime has been noted before; properly used, the media can be a powerful force for correcting misinformation, opening new vistas and fostering a "culture of peace". By underlining common values, dispelling prejudices and recognizing the essential humanity of

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*The Regional Adviser, who is assigned to the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, occupies a post funded by a contribution from the Government of Japan.

people across cultures, religions and social strata, the media can build bridges and promote tolerance and solidarity. It can foster a civil polity governed by the rule of law and adherence to basic norms of ethical conduct, along with education in civics.

137. The media can also acquaint the public in many countries with the work of the United Nations in the area of crime prevention and criminal justice, which is still insufficiently known. It might also promote more humane and effective policies in this field by highlighting successful programmes in this area. By increasing public understanding of the issues involved, and of the role of the United Nations, a broader basis for international cooperation in this area might be established. Joint initiatives with the media could be undertaken, including the development of special programmes and materials. Certain publications, such as the *Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Newsletter* and the *International Review of Criminal Policy*, would be of great help in this process. The workshop on mass media and crime prevention to be held within the framework of the Ninth Congress can also help significantly in this regard.

C. Non-governmental organizations and academic institutions

138. The need for the active participation of non-governmental organizations and professional organizations in the United Nations crime prevention and criminal justice programme was repeatedly stressed over the years, resulting in the establishment, in 1991, of the International Scientific and Professional Advisory Council. The resource committees of the Council (e.g. on juvenile justice and rights, victims and crime prevention, and human rights in the administration of justice) have made important contributions to the United Nations crime prevention and criminal justice programme. Clearing-house facilities are also to be established in conjunction with the United Nations Crime and Justice Information Network, if resources permit, to help share and exchange information on innovative projects.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

139. The present document contains a review of recent scientific policies related to urban crime prevention, violent crime, juvenile crime and victim protection. Based on this scientific review, the document suggests that any approach to prevent such crime and victimization associated with it has to be integrated in overall social planning strategies; thus, crime prevention strategies have to be comprehensive, taking into consideration the fact that crime is a multifaceted problem.

140. Planning for sustainable urban and human development in a wider perspective, including an attempt to anticipate and forestall prospective crime and violence problems, is important. Also essential is instituting multipronged and multilevel strategies to prevent and mitigate crime, violence and victimization, including immediate, medium-term and long-term measures. For these purposes, policies for crime prevention and control, both intersectorally and sectorally within the criminal justice system, should be put into force, using an effective approach that entails the least human and material costs.

141. The mechanisms and procedures to be established at the country and local levels will play a lead role in providing support and coordinating action to reduce criminogenic imbalances and foster harmonious urban and national development. In this process, the promotion of equity and social justice, with remedial measures to reduce exclusion, marginalization, disadvantage and vulnerability, should be given due attention. The participation of the public in the political process and in urban development and renewal, as well as the increase of legitimate economic and social opportunities that provide hope for a better future, is important.

142. The strengthening of democratic governance and official accountability, and the creation of channels for the communication and redress of grievances, as well as for conflict resolution, is also relevant to effective crime prevention strategies. By combining effective technical solutions with the inculcation of prosocial

values, and by drawing on indigenous traditions, the importance of community and social solidarity could be stressed.

143. The curtailment of opportunities for community crime, as well as other factors conducive to it, could be possible by breaking vicious circles (e.g. those of violence perpetuation, urban decline and crime) and by minimizing risk factors and increasing protective factors. For that purpose, the identification of key elements of successes ("best practices") and failures, in varying contexts, for reference in future initiatives, is of vital importance.

144. The conduct of joint problem-oriented training of personnel from different disciplines and sectors bearing on urban crime prevention, including urban planners and criminal justice practitioners, should be facilitated. The mobilization of public opinion and support for crime prevention efforts via the media and other means needs to be encouraged.

145. The importance of sharing information and exchanging expertise and experiences at the international, national and local levels has been repeatedly stressed. By strengthening assistance to requesting States, cities and groups, comprehensive subregional, regional and international action plans for urban crime and violence prevention and victim assistance could be established. Such assistance might include rosters of available advisory services, training opportunities and funding possibilities, as well as guidelines for self-help and project formulation.

Notes

[1]United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report 1994* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 185-186.

[2]"Urban security and sustainable development in the 21st century", report of the Expert Group Meeting on Urban Security, Vancouver, Canada, 11-15 July 1994, pp. 17-23.

[3]See Catherine Vourc'h and Michel Marcus, Sécurité et Démocratie (Saint-Armand-Montrond (Cher), France, Forum Européen pour la sécurité urbaine, and Collège analytique de la sécurité urbaine, 1993).

[4]See Pedro David, "Comunicad y prevención del delito: perspectivas comparadas", D. P. Carrera, ed., *Criminalidad y Prevención del Delito*, Cuadernos de Prevención, No. 1 (Córdoba, Argentina, Instituto de Estudios para la Prevención del Delito, 1991).

[5]See P. J. Brantingham and P. L. Brantingham, *Environmental Criminology* (Beverly Hills, California, Sage, 1981); J. Baldwin, *The Urban Criminal* (London, 1976); P.O.H. Wikstrom, *Urban Crime* (New York, 1990), chap. 8; P.O.H. Wikstrom, *Crime and Measures against Crime in the City* (Stockholm, 1990); and D. J. Evans and others, eds., *Crime, Policing and Place: Essays in Environmental Criminology* (New York, Rutledge, 1992).

[6]See P. J. Brantingham and P. L. Brantingham, *Environmental Criminology* (Beverley Hills, California, Sage, 1981).

[7]Anna Kossowska, "Srodowiskowo-Przestrzenne Uwarunkowanie Przestepczosci (Wybrane Zagadnienia Współczesnej Ekologii Przestepczosci)", *Archiwum Kriminologii* (Warsaw), vol. XIX, 1993, pp. 7-16.

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